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Seventy-five Years Ago and Now.

This issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is given up largely to matters connected with the seventy-fifth anniversary of the American Peace Society. We publish this month not only the proceedings of the annual business meeting held on the 18th of May,—the fourth anniversary of the opening of the Hague Peace Conference,—including the full Report of the Board of Directors, but also an extended account of the work of the Society for the seventy-five years of its existence. The addresses given at the anniversary dinner in the evening, of which an account will be found on another page, will be published in the July number, so far as we have not space for them this month.

Special attention is called to the historic statement of the work of the Society. Its members and friends will find much in the narrative that furnishes ground for rejoicing over the efficient part which the Society has been able to take for so long a period in the movement for the disenthronement of war and the establishment of universal and permanent peace.

No comparison is intended to be made, in this historic résumé, with the labors of other peace organizations, old or new, to their disparagement. Nowhere

else is the value of their work better understood or more highly appreciated than with the management of the American Peace Society, which has always taken the most unselfish satisfaction in the appearance of any new association or means of advancing the cause which they have had so deeply at heart. The work is one, wherever and by whomever done, and there is nothing more incongruous than rivalries among peace societies or peace workers for precedence and honor.

One cannot look back over the past seventy-five years, from the point of view of the peace propaganda, without being struck with the wide contrast between the position of the cause then and now. Even the present strength of the movement often looks pitifully insignificant compared with what it ought to be. But looking back to its first days, the progress seems almost immeasurable; and one cannot help wondering of what extraordinary type of hero the men were who had the moral insight and the courage to launch the movement in the early part of last century amid an unbelieving and compromising church and a scoffing world, and to stand by it with their time, their fortunes and their reputation.

In these days of scores of peace and arbitration societies, of great peace congresses and arbitration conferences, of international law associations, of parliamentary and interparliamentary arbitration groups, of peace palaces and museums, of peace crusades and women's demonstrations, of a great governmental peace conference of all the important powers of the world, of an established international tribunal, of congress after congress of representatives of governments, of arbitrations between nations constantly in progress,—it is difficult to conceive, under these circumstances, of the small beginnings of the early days. Most of the present peace institutions and movements were then hardly a dream. It took at that time more than half a dozen years to get men enough interested to come together and form a little peace society in a New York or Boston parlor.

If Hon. Jeremiah Mason of Boston were living today he would be ashamed of himself for the contemptuous remark made by him to Charles Sumner over sixty years ago, that an anti-war society was as impracticable as an anti-thunder-and-lightning society. What would David L. Dodge or Noah Worcester or Dr. Channing have thought if they had seen the great peace conference of one hundred of the foremost men of the political world sitting at The Hague? What

feelings would have possessed the noble soul of William Ladd, who spent his little fortune, large in those days, in the cause of peace, if he had seen one of the richest men whom the world has ever known building a palace, at a cost of a million and a half, to house the High Court of Nations, for which this greatest of the early apostles of peace argued with extraordinary force and eloquence in the days when such an institution as the Hague tribunal was considered a pure chimera?

There is much difficult work, certainly, to be done yet, before war and the war spirit are brought into entire public dishonor and eliminated from human character and human institutions. The old barbarism is continually reappearing in measure and reasserting itself, and has to be met anew squarely and resolutely. It is tremendously alive just now, and with its seductions and huge armaments is ready to overthrow, if possible, the splendid upward movement of humanity disclosed in the triumphs of the peace cause in the last three quarters of a century. But in spite of the obstacles and temporary reverses, the cause of the world's peace will go on conquering and to conquer. What has been done, and done with extraordinary swiftness in recent years, gives the fullest assurance that the time is not far away when war will be politically, economically and morally impossible. That is the note of encouragement which comes from this anniversary, to greater faithfulness and larger service in the years just before us.

Dominating the Pacific.

In one of his Western speeches President Roosevelt has declared that in this century the Pacific Ocean must pass under the influence of the United States. His reported language was: "This, the greatest of the oceans, is one which during the century opening must pass under American influence, and, as inevitably happens when a great effort comes, it means that a great burden of responsibility accompanies the effort. A nation cannot be great without paying the price of greatness, and only a craven nation will object to paying that price."

What did the President wish us to understand by this and other similar things which he has said? Did he mean that the domination of the Pacific would come simply through superiority of peaceful commerce? or that the seventy millions of square miles of this immense ocean must be made the "sphere of influence" of the United States, in the diplomatic sense of the expression? or that our "destiny" would force us by-and-by to take possession of all its shores and make it an inland sea?

We confess that it is difficult to find any very intelligible idea behind the utterance. It was possibly just an expression of feeling of expansiveness and bigness for his country, or of the naval move-

ments of his mind, as he looked out upon the great ocean which led him to exclaim: "What a fine place for a navy!"

The President cannot have meant that the Pacific would "pass under the influence of the United States" merely by the development of a commerce superior to that of any or all of the other nations. No such thing is possible. The development of our commerce to no matter how great an extent means at the same time the enlargement of the commerce of the other nations lying on the Pacific shores. We cannot sell to these countries without in the long run buying to the same extent of them. If the larger part of the Pacific carrying trade should ever come to be done in American bottoms, this would not in the least create domination. The ships of other nations would still have their rights there, and nobody would think of excluding them or in the least interfering with them. An attempt to gain supremacy by crippling the commerce of other Pacific countries would in the long run defeat the very end sought. The only way a great and permanent commerce can be built up and maintained is by encouraging the commercial and industrial spirit of other lands as well as of our own. Thus there can never be any such thing as an ultimate commercial domination of any ocean.

It is impossible that the President could have meant that our country should attempt to make the Pacific our "sphere of influence." No greater "fool's errand" could be imagined. This ocean, like all others, is the common highway of the nations, neutralized by the public law of the world. The United States does not own an inch square of it beyond the three-mile limit. The other nations lying on its shores are limited in the same way. Every other inch of it is the common possession of all the powers at the same time. The smallest power has the same rights everywhere on it as the largest. We have no more rights on it than when our first ship crossed it. Any nation attempting therefore to make the ocean in any exclusive sense its "sphere of influence" would thus violate the public rights of the community of nations and have to meet the combined opposition of the other powers.

If the President had in mind—as he certainly did not—that the United States should plan to seize, at some opportune time, one by one all the islands in the Pacific, and such an impossible enterprise should succeed against Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Japan, etc., the case would not be altered in the least as to the public waters of the ocean itself.

What, then, did the President have in mind? It is probable that if there was anything whatever hovering more or less dimly in his thought, it was that a "great effort" should be made by our country to dominate the Pacific by a great navy, for some end or other; for a great navy is the one image which is